3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guaraní religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brasil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanised.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[84] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[85]

Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

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Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[84] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[85] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

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G 175 167 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

G 175 167 721 726 I 726 Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

G [729] I [712] Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

G 175 721 726 I 726 701 G [291] [266] The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

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they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

1: Métraux--34 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Inca SE13
Chane SF8

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

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1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that García's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

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A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land. and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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G 175 167 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the G 131 175 167 course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

G 175 167 648 In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy G [721] [726] of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

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175 167 727 726 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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175 [113] 1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

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[Text Continues on P. 10]

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726 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[727] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.